7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of
764 Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.

7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hoouma, island of Eua.

172 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hoouma are
764 the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place.
173 Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffocation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about 5½ miles
361 southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan government. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from
124 old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was
172 one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the consider-
[127] able mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal
[126] observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing remains of ancient structures.

172 Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including
175 the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the
361 comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided
[643] between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting description of Lapaha:

[342] The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the
[351] inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person
[363] has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between
[351] each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maolunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepaeokautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manaui.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 361 [363] [368] [137] through its center. The yard of the Catholic church occupies a part of its western half and other modern houses and fenced-in yards now cross its boundaries. A few *ovava* trees are still standing and the roots of the tree Manaui are still to be seen.

172 34 [368] [643] Southeast of the *malae* is the mound called Takuilau (*taku*, Fijian term meaning land at the back of a mountain; *i*, in; Lau, a group of islands in Fiji). This is a circular mound of sand, with irregular surface nearly 50 yards in base diameter, where, some say, were buried all refuse materials intimately pertaining to the physical body of the Tui Tonga. Blood from wounds, hair, vomit or anything else that was considered to be a severed part of the kingly body was carefully preserved and buried in this sand pile. From another source comes the contradictory statement that Takuilau was the house-mound of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the oldest sister of the Tui Tonga. [342] This mound, however, is entirely unlike any house-mound observed in Tonga. Not only is its shape different but Tongan house-mounds were not built of sand unless the foundation and the land immediately adjoining were also of sand. This mound, on the other hand, has much the appearance of a burial place.

172 361 Immediately north of the *malae* was a broad clearing, having much the appearance of a broad road. It appears to have had no name but is said to have been 15 to 20 "fathoms" (about 100 feet) in width and to have been lined by large *ovava* trees.

172 368 The northern part of the fortified area is occupied by four great stone langis of the Tui Tonga (pp. 39, 56, 58).

644 Just west of these tombs was an area called Fanakava. Its boundaries cannot now be determined, but it is said that one side touched the langis and that the other side merged into the great clearing. Fanakava was a rectangular and oblong area covered by a grassy turf. Some describe it as surrounded by a reed fence, others as without a fence. It was a *malae* of the Tui Tonga, where he occasionally presided over his kava circle. There was no house, priest, or guardian of this place, yet there was one peculiar, religious tradition [696] associated therewith. Within its boundaries refugees from retribution were safe from attack (12).

172 363 There is every indication that the old road did not follow the course of the present highway through Mua. Rather, it avoided the fortified area, passing south and east of the embankment and extending east and northeast to parallel the eastern margin of the row of langis.

172 368 764 Outside the fortification, the langis continue as two parallel rows comprising 13 structures. North of these two rows are two other langis. On the flat outside of the ancient shore line are two langis, 50 feet south of which is a large *faitoka* with the lids of two stone vaults exposed to view on its

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

The town was asleep in the sun; its trim, grassy streets stretching away inland were utterly deserted; it was like a toy town, fresh-painted from the shop before the miniature inhabitants have been taken out of their packing box. Nukualofa is, indeed, unlike any other town in the world. Not long ago a friend of mine encountered an American tourist, just landed from a steamer, gaping at a street corner where four ways meet, and asked him what he was looking at. "Sir," he replied, "they tell me that this is the business quarter of this capital, and I'm going to watch these four grass-walks till I see a human being. But I've wasted ten minutes, and I'll have to give it up."

We were boarded by my friend, Dr. Donald Maclennan, who, as the only practitioner in the group, is the hardest-worked man in Tonga. He has had a remarkable career. A Scotsman, educated in Canada, he practised first in San Francisco and afterwards in Hawaii, where he became a close friend of the native queen and the royalist party. When the Revolution of 1893 resulted in annexation by the United States, he made a tour round the Pacific islands without a definite intention of settling, and chanced to reach Tonga when the government was in desperate need

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

ner in his book on the Tonga Islands. The summit of this mound is now crowned by a good chapel of native construction, which affords an excellent land-mark to navigators making for the anchorage; and it also stands as a very prominent emblem of the Gospel triumphs that have been achieved over the former habits of the people.

Looking eastward, Bagaimotu and a cluster of other islands, stretching away to the north-east, shut out the "*Hahake*," or eastern end of Tonga, from sight, whilst *Hihifo* and the island of Atata bound the prospect on the extreme west.

The town of Nukualofa may be regarded not only as the capital of Tongatabu, but as the metropolis of the little ocean empire of King George Tubou. It has risen from the obscurity of a small village, and has become the centre of religious influence and the chief seat of political authority, while several of the ancient royal residences have been almost entirely deserted. It is partly indebted for its importance to its admirable situation on the seaboard, but most of all to the fact, that Christian converts from various heathen towns were drawn thither, during successive years, that they might reap the full benefit of Missionary instruction, and be freed also from the persecutions to which they were subjected by their heathen friends. A short description of this town will serve to indicate the general appearance and arrangements of all others.

Nukualofa is intersected by tolerably wide paths, kept scrupulously free from all rank vegetation and dirt. These paths are bounded by the neat reed fences which enclose the *obis* or residential sections of the various chiefs and their retainers. These

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

enclosures are planted largely with useful trees, such as the bread-fruit, banana, cocoa-nut, orange, citron, shaddock, and a variety of shrubs whose overhanging foliage effectually screens the pathways from the intense heat of the sun. Very little order is observed in placing the numerous houses within these enclosures. There are no regular avenues or streets. In fact, a house is generally placed where it can obtain the greatest amount of shade from overhanging trees,—a matter certainly of considerable importance in a tropical climate. A casual visitor, therefore, can see but few dwellings even when he has entered within the *loto a*, or fence of the *abi ;* and, until he hunts them out amongst the abounding shrubbery, he wonders where the people live.

A Tonguese house suits the few necessities and easy habits of the people, but has none of the comforts so essential to a higher type of civilization. With the exception of what may be called public buildings, and a few of the dwellings of the chiefs of highest rank, their dimensions are small, and they contain but two apartments. They are, however, constructed with an eye to neatness and great strength ; and when elaborately finished in the best native style, their interior appearance is by no means to be despised. The walls range from four to eight feet in height, and are formed either of a single or double fencing of reeds, which, when interlaced and bound by sinnet to the *tokotuus*, or stakes and posts, planted all round the eaves of the building, resembles very much strong basket-work. These walls are sometimes made more wind and weather tight by the addition of a lining of plaited cocoa-nut leaves; but, at the best, they afford a

The heart of downtown Nuku'alofa, Taufa'ahau Road, is nearly deserted on a Sunday, for in Tonga the Sabbath is considered sacred. The same main road teems with activity on a typical shopping day.

Fu'u motu'aki ngaongao 'aupito e Hala Taufa'ahau he 'aho Sapate koe'uhi ko e 'aho tapu.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

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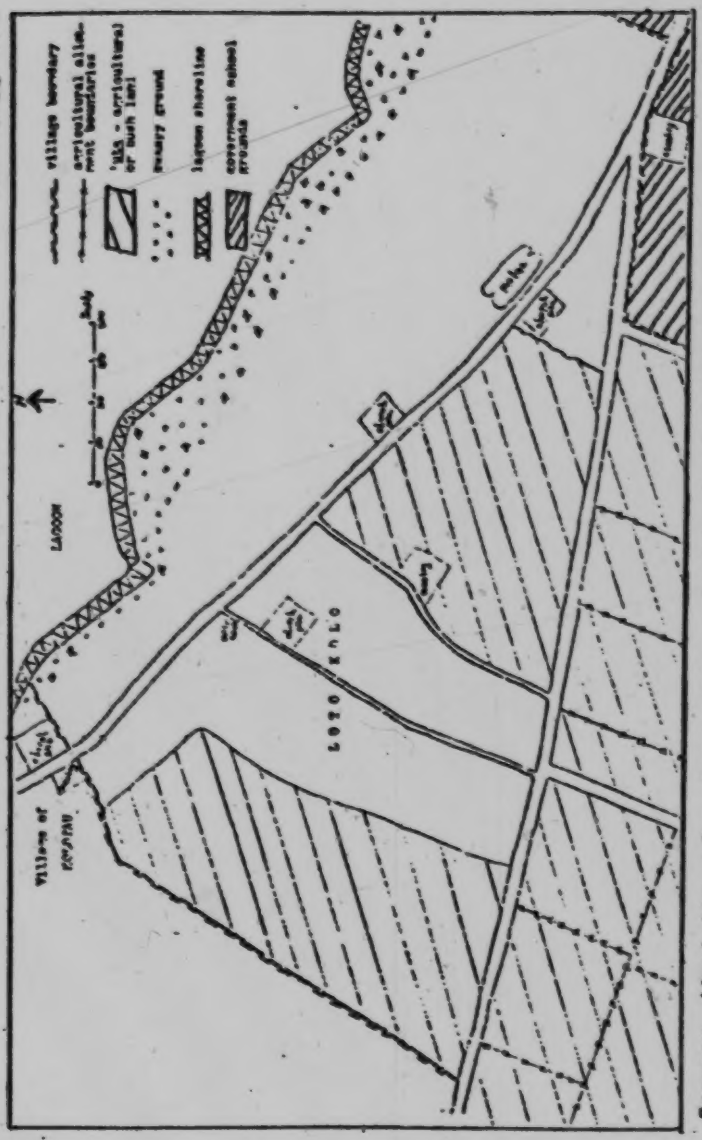

MAP 5. Residential Sector of Motulahi

Source: Adaptation of various maps supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys, supplemented by fieldwork observations.

100: Koch--134 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/92 cont./

553 551 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 162 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives 632 living. The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are: [162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these [464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government [366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars; [493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the [363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too, [368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and [365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other [423] occupations.

621 162 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan villages

592 362

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses. The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt. Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school. The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; these were principally young women and girls—and like those we had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full chorus, the precession winding backwards and forwards until they formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed, until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows, the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-